

VITA

Joseph M. Bessette

Education

Boston College, 1966-70, B.S. Physics, magna cum laude
Univ. of Chicago: History of Science, 1971-72
Political Science, 1972-77
M.A., June 1974; Ph.D., June 1978

Academic Positions

Alice Tweed Tuohy Professor of Government and Ethics, Claremont McKenna College (at CMC since July 1990)
Acting Director, Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College, January - December, 2003 and July 1997 - June 1998
Associate Director, Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College, July 1995 – June 2008
Adjunct Professor, Department of Government, Georgetown University (part-time, August 1988 - June 1989)
Visiting Assistant Professor in Political Science and the College, University of Chicago (part-time, September 1983 - June 1984)
Assistant Professor, Catholic University of America, Department of Politics, 1979-81
Assistant Professor, University of Virginia, Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, 1977-79
Lecturer, University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, Summer 1976
Lecturer, Loyola University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, Autumn 1974

Fellowships and Awards

Boston College Presidential Scholarship, 1966-70
Fishbein Fellowship in History of Science, University of Chicago, 1971-72
University of Chicago Fellowships, 1972-74
Earhart Foundation Fellowships, 1973-74 and 1976-77
Claremont McKenna College Presidential Award of Merit, May 2000

Government Positions

Acting Director, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Justice (September 1988 - July 1990)
Deputy Director for Data Analysis, Bureau of Justice Statistics (January 1985 - September 1988)
Director of Planning, Training, and Management, Cook County State's Attorney's Office, Chicago, Ill. (June 1981 - December 1984)

Other Professional Experience

White Burkett Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia:

Assistant to the Director, Program on the Presidency, June - September 1977

Acting Director, Program on the Presidency, September 1977 - June 1978

Research Assistant and Co-principal Investigator, NEH funded study on “Rhetoric and Presidential Leadership” June 1978 - December 1979

Director, Catholic University’s Congressional Studies Program, January 1980 - June 1981

Member, Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley’s Blue Ribbon Panel on Police Hiring and Promotion, 1990-1993

Academic Review Board, Criminal Justice Legal Foundation

Editorial Advisory Board, *Political Science Quarterly*

Director, Claremont Center for Reason, Religion, and Public Affairs, 2014 – present

Publications

Books

By Man Shall His Blood be Shed: A Catholic Defense of Capital Punishment, with Edward Feser (Ignatius Press, 2017)

The Imperial Presidency and the Constitution, edited with Andrew Busch and Gary Schmitt (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

The Presidency in the Constitutional Order: An Historical Examination, edited with Jeffrey Tulis (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2010) -- reissue with a new Introduction of *The Presidency in the Constitutional Order*, published by Louisiana State University Press in 1981).

American Government and Politics: Deliberation, Democracy, and Citizenship, with John J. Pitney (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010). An updated “election edition” was published in January 2011, and a second edition in January 2013.

The Constitutional Presidency, ed. Joseph M. Bessette and Jeffrey K. Tulis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009)

Editor, *Toward a More Perfect Union: The Writings of Herbert J. Storing* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1995).

The Mild Voice of Reason: Deliberative Democracy and American National Government (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Excerpts reprinted in *Debating Democracy: A Reader in American Politics*, ed. Bruce Miroff, Raymond Seidelman, and Todd Swanstrom.

American Government: Origins, Institutions, and Public Policy, with James W. Ceaser, Laurence J. O'Toole, and Glen Thurow (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984); Second Edition (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1992).

Articles and book chapters

“In Defense of Polarization,” in *Parchment Barriers: Political Polarization and the Limits of Constitutional Order*, ed. Zachary Courser, Eric Helland, and Kenneth Miller (University Press of Kansas, 2018).

“Amending the Amendment Provisions of the Illinois Constitution” with Kenneth P. Miller in *An Illinois Constitution for the Twenty-First Century*, Illinois Policy Institute, 2017.

“The Imperial Executive in Constitutional Democracy: Exploring the Powers-Duties Distinction” in *The Imperial Presidency and the Constitution* (Lexington Books, 2017).

“Introduction” to *The Obama Presidency in the Constitutional Order*, ed. Carol McNamara and Melanie Marlowe (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012).

“Introduction to the Reissued Edition” (with Jeffrey K. Tulis) in the reissue of *The Presidency in the Constitutional Order* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2010).

“Confronting War: Rethinking Justice Robert Jackson’s Concurrence in *Youngstown v. Sawyer*” in *The Limits of Constitutional Democracy*, ed. Jeffrey K. Tulis and Stephen Macedo (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

“Preface” (with Jeffrey K. Tulis), “On the Constitution, Politics, and the Presidency” (with Jeffrey K. Tulis), and “The Powers and Duties of the President: Recovering the Logic and Meaning of Article II” (with Gary J. Schmitt) in *The Constitutional Presidency*, ed. Joseph M. Bessette and Jeffrey K. Tulis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

“Foreword” to *Tough for Whom? How Prosecutors and Judges Use Their Discretion to Promote Justice under the California Three-Strikes Law* by Jennifer Walsh, Henry Salvatori Center, August 2004.

“Introduction” and “Herbert J. Storing on the Problem of Democracy” in “A Symposium on Herbert J. Storing,” *The Political Science Reviewer*, XXIX, 2000.

“In Pursuit of Criminal Justice,” *The Public Interest*, No. 129 (Fall 1997). Reprinted in *Current*, No. 399 (January 1998).

“Remarks on Murder, the Death Penalty, and Time in Prison,” Panel on “Reflections on a Quarter-Century of Constitutional Regulation of Capital Punishment,” Death Penalty Symposium, John Marshall Law School, October 17, 1996, published in *The John Marshall Law Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Winter 1997).

“Crime, Justice, and Punishment,” *Jobs & Capital* Vol. IV (Winter 1995).

“Introduction” in *Toward a More Perfect Union: The Writings of Herbert J. Storing*, ed. Joseph M. Bessette (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1995).

“The Case for Incarceration” in *Enhancing Capacities and Confronting Controversies in Criminal Justice*, Bureau of Justice Statistics (August 1994), pp. 84-90.

“Executive Power and the American Founding” (with Gary J. Schmitt) in *Separation of Powers and Good Government*, ed. Bradford Wilson (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994).

“Deliberation in American Lawmaking,” *Philosophy & Public Policy* Vol. 14, No. 1/2 (Winter/Spring 1994).

“Guarding the Constitution from Legislative Tyranny,” in *Is the Supreme Court the Guardian of the Constitution?* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1993).

“Denigrating the Deliberative Republic: The Impact of the 22nd Amendment on Presidential Leadership” in *Restoring the Presidency: Reconsidering the Twenty-Second Amendment* (Washington, D.C.: The National Legal Center for the Public Interest, 1990).

“Founding Republics: The Near Failure of State Governments During the Critical Period,” *Tocqueville Review* IX (1987/88), delivered at the French-American Bicentennial Conference, Charlottesville, Va., May 1987; reprinted as “La difficile Fondation des Republiques durant la ‘periode critique,’ 1776-1787” in *Le Discours sur les Revolutions* (Paris: Economica, 1991). A slightly different version was published as “The Legislative Power: Structure and Limits” in *Our Peculiar Security* (Savage, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1993).

“The Presidency, Congress, and Public Opinion” and “Lawmaking in Congress” in *The New Federalist Papers*, ed. J. Jackson Barlow et. al. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Public Research Syndicated, 1988).

“Is Congress a Deliberative Body?” in *The United States Congress: Proceedings of the Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. Symposium*, Boston College (1982).

“The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency,” with James Ceaser, Glen Thurow, and Jeffrey Tulis, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. XI, No. 2 (spring 1981). Reprinted in Thomas Cronin, ed., *Rethinking the Presidency* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982); Mary Pollingue, *Readings in American Government*, (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt, 1983, 1991, 1994); Theodore Windt, ed., *Essays in Presidential Rhetoric* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt, 1983, 1986); and Harry A. Bailey, Jr. and Jay M. Shafritz, eds., *The American Presidency: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Chicago: Dorsey press, 1988).

“The Constitution, Politics, and the Presidency,” with Jeffrey Tulis in *The Presidency in the Constitutional Order*, ed. Joseph M. Bessette and Jeffrey Tulis (Louisiana State University Press, 1981).

“Deliberative Democracy: The Majority Principle in Republican Government,” in *How Democratic is the Constitution?*, ed. Robert Goldwin and William Shambra (American Enterprise Institute, 1981).

“The Presidency,” in *Founding Principles of American Government*, ed. George and Scarlett Graham (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1977).

Book reviews and review essays

“More Justice, Less Crime,” review of John Pfaff, *Locked In: The True Causes of Mass Incarceration and How to Achieve Real Reform* and David Dagan and Steven Teles, *Prison Break: Why Conservatives Turned Against Mass Incarceration* in *Claremont Review of Books*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (Summer 2017).

“All Lives Matter,” review of *The Rise and Fall of Violent Crime in America*, Barry Latzer (Encounter Books) and *The War on Cops: How the New Attack on Law and Order Makes Everyone Less Safe*, Heather Mac Donald (Encounter Books) in *Claremont Review of Books*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (Summer 2016).

Review of *Defending Congress and the Constitution*, Louis Fisher (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011) in *Congress and the Presidency*, Vol. 40, Issue 1 (2013).

Review of *The Supreme Court and the Idea of Constitutionalism*, ed. Steven Kautz, Arthur Melzer, Jerry Weinberger, and M. Richard Zinman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) in *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (June 2011).

Review of Fred Greenstein’s *Inventing the Job of President: Leadership Style from George Washington to Andrew Jackson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009) in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 125, No. 3 (Fall 2010).

“Should Election Campaigns Be Deliberative?” -- review of James A. Gardner, *What Are Campaigns For?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), forthcoming in *Election Law Review*

“Hail to the Chief” in *Claremont Review of Books*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Spring 2009) – review of Jeremy D. Bailey, *Thomas Jefferson and Executive Power* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

“Science and Faith” in *Claremont Review of Books*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (Spring 2008) – review essay of three books: Michael Behe, *The Edge of Evolution: The Search for the Limits of Darwinism* (New York: Free Press, 2007); Francis Collins, *The Language of God: A Scientist Presents Evidence for Belief* (New York: Free Press, 2006); Owen Gingerich, *God’s Universe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

“The War Over the War Powers” in *Claremont Review of Books*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (spring 2006) -- review of *The Powers of War and Peace: The Constitution and Foreign Affairs after 9/11*, John Yoo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Review of *Military Tribunals and Presidential Power: American Revolution to the War on Terrorism*, Louis Fisher (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005) in *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 121, Number 1 (Spring 2006).

“Is God in the Details?” *Claremont Review of Books*, Volume V, No. 1 (Winter 2004) – review essay on four books on “Intelligent Design”: Stephen M. Barr, *Modern Physics and Ancient Faith* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press); William A. Dembski, *The Design Revolution: Answering the Toughest Questions about Intelligent Design* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press); Larry Witham, *By Design: Science and the Search for God* (San Francisco: Encounter Books); Thomas Woodward, *Doubts about Darwin: A History of Intelligent Design* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books).

Review of Adam Simon, *The Winning Message: Candidate Behavior, Campaign Discourse, and Democracy* in *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume I, No. 3 (September 2003), 610.

“Disarming America,” review of John R. Lott, Jr., *The Bias Against Guns: Why Almost Everything You’ve Heard About Gun Control Is Wrong* in *Claremont Review of Books*, Volume III, No. 4 (Fall 2003).

“Shameless Injustice,” review of Austin Sarat, *When the State Kills: Capital Punishment and the American Condition* in *Claremont Review of Books*, Volume III, No. 1 (Winter 2002).

Review of George McJimsey, *The Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt* in *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Winter 2001).

“A Plea for Pandering,” review of Lawrence Jacobs and Robert Shapiro, *Politicians Don’t Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness* in *Claremont Review of Books*, Volume 1, No. 2 (Winter 2001).

Review essay on *Democracy and Disagreement* by Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, *The Good Society: A PEGS Journal* Vol. 7, No. 2 (Spring 1997).

Review of *Time, Politics, and Policies: A Legislative Year*, Burdett Loomis and *Politics for People: Finding a Responsible Public Voice*, David Mathews in *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 545 (May 1996)

Review of *The Moral Foundations of United States Constitutional Democracy*, James H. Rutherford in *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 1995)

Book review essay of *Bureaucrats, Policy Analysts, Statesmen: Who Leads?* ed., Robert Goldwin, published in *Interpretation*, Vol. XI, Issue 1 (January 1983)

Encyclopedia entries

“Herbert J. Storing” in *American Conservatism: An Encyclopedia* (Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2006)

“Naturalization” in *The Heritage Guide to the United States Constitution* (Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, 2005).

“Accountability, Political” and “Deliberation, Political Aspects” in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (Pergamon Press, 2001), Volume I, 38-41; II, 3377-80.

Consulting editor, *American Justice* (Pasadena, CA: Salem Press, 1996), 3 vols. Author of “William Blackstone,” “Burglary,” “Criminal Justice System,” “Justice,” “Lincoln-Douglas Debates,” “Ex Parte Milligan,” and “National Labor Relations Act”

Consulting editor, *Survey of Social Science: Government and Politics Series* (Pasadena, CA: Salem Press, 1995), 5 vols. Author of “Congress of the United States”

Other

“The Pope Makes a Fatal Error,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 8, 2018

“Crime and Punishment,” online debate about incarceration with John Pfaff, hosted by the *Claremont Review of Books*, February 7, 2018, at <https://www.claremont.org/crb/basicpage/crb-digital-discussion/>

“How and Why the Death Penalty Deters Murder in Contemporary America,” *Catholic World Report*, January 2018, at <https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2018/01/04/how-and-why-the-death-penalty-deters-murder-in-contemporary-america/>

“Why the Death Penalty Is Still Necessary” (with Edward Feser), *Catholic World Report*, July 21, 2016.

“Why the Church Cannot Reverse Past Teaching on Capital Punishment” (with Edward Feser), *Catholic World Report*, July 17, 2016.

“The Injustice Department: Why Was Lawrence Greenfeld Fired?” *The Weekly Standard*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (October 17, 2005).

“Revising Three-Strikes would only weaken message to felons,” with Jennifer E. Walsh, *Pasadena Star News*, October 28, 2004, and *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, October 28, 2004.

“Why the Death Penalty is Fair,” with Walter Berns, *Wall Street Journal*, January 9, 1998.

“What Does ‘High Crimes and Misdemeanors’ Mean?” with Gary J. Schmitt, *A Report from The Henry Salvatori Center for the Study of Individual Freedom in the Modern World*, December 15, 1998.

Consulting editor, *Encyclopedia of American Government* (Pasadena, CA: Salem Press, 1998), 4 vols.

“Ten Myths About Crime and Justice” (with Anne Nutter Bessette), The Claremont Institute, March 16, 1992

“Congress and Separation of Powers,” January 1986, for newspaper syndication through Public Research Syndicated, Claremont, Calif.

Referee

American Political Science Review
American Politics Research
American Political Thought
Cambridge University Press
Canadian Journal of Political Science
Journal of Policy Analysis and Management
Legislative Studies Quarterly
Perspectives on Politics
Princeton University Press
Pennsylvania State University Press
Policy Studies Journal
Polity: Journal of the Northeastern Political Science Association
Political Science Quarterly
Studies in American Political Development
University of Chicago Press
University Press of Kansas
Yale University Press

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